1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [775] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 556 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [792] [531] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 795 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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outside in the family's or *tsu* compound's courtyard. A table is set up and a paper ancestral tablet for the deceased is placed on it. Usually, this paper tablet is used by the family for the first year after the death, after which the deceased person's name is transferred to the family line's main wooden ancestral tablet. Today, in addition to the paper tablet a photograph of the deceased is also placed on the table. Then, in order not to expose the spirit of the deceased to the heavens, an open, large black umbrella is tied to the table. The mourners gather at the sides of the table, joined by most of the villagers, who sit or stand in the courtyard to watch the entertainment. Even passersby from other villages join the large audience, and the cheerful reception given the entertainer by the outsiders and even sometimes by the mourners makes it apparent that the spirit of the deceased is not the only one being entertained.

With the completion of this part of the ritual, the members of the *tao shih* group and the several mourners resume chants and prayers in behalf of the deceased which continue long into the night and through to dawn of the next day. This is done in shifts so that the various participants can take time off to eat food furnished by the family and to nap.

During the course of the night a series of ceremonials takes place outside the house and in the *kung t'ing* of the house in preparation for sending off the spirit of the deceased. One ceremony, held outside, simulates the transmission of a letter from the family of the deceased to the underworld. The letter, prepared by the *tao shih*, describes the dead man's life, speaks of his good as well as bad points, and ends with a plea for clemency and forgiveness toward him. All five *tao shih*, carrying flaming torches, conduct the ceremony. One *tao shih* acts as the "forgiveness governor" and carries a paper symbol of the forgiveness governor and the "forgiveness letter." He is followed by three "aides"; together these four men actually run and try to catch the fifth man who is supposed to represent a horse and who carries a *papier-mâché* horse on a pole. The forgiveness governor wants to catch the horse in order to ride it to the underworld to present the forgiveness letter to the gods.

The colorful and exciting ceremony usually attracts a large number of villagers, both adults and children. During the whole spectacle the *tao shih* joke and laugh, which suggests that the ceremony is designed to entertain the audience and the mourners. Some villagers observed that "This ceremony in this very form was passed down from our ancestors, and it is natural and interesting to be so playful since the sad mourners then won't worry so much." When the *tao shih* chase each other and weave in and out they often get tangled up, and each time this happens the horns in the small orchestra are purposely blown

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 many of the older people are quite unhappy about this situation. It is
484 interesting that these same village men do come home in April to
178 celebrate the birthday of the village god Ta Shih Kung, which they consider a much more exciting and gay (*je nao*) time to come home than the New Year.

796 The New Year's celebration actually begins on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, when the villagers send the gods off to heaven. They burn incense and a special paper money called *chio ma* and shoot off firecrackers. The paper money bears a picture of a horse which symbolizes the horse on which the gods ride to heaven. The families sacrifice fruit and cake at a very simple ceremony.

796 On New Year's Eve the villagers worship their ancestors in the *kung*
769 *t'ing*. "Since this is the last time of the year that the ancestors are worshipped, many sacrifices are offered." The next day the worship of the ancestors begins anew and is repeated daily until the third day of
[525] the first month. On these three days the villagers also worship the three brother gods (San Chieh Kung), and many of them, including men, young women, and children, spend their time gambling during the period of rest from work.

796 The fourth day of the first month is called Chieh Shen or "welcome
782 the gods." On this day the gods who went to heaven come back to earth. The villagers offer sacrifices and burn incense and paper money to welcome them back.

[076] The ninth day of the first month is the birthday of T'ien Kung, the highest of the gods. Although the villagers consider him a vegetarian, they nevertheless sacrifice pork, duck, and chicken in addition to vegetable dishes and cakes, explaining that T'ien Kung eats only the vegetables, but his friends and the other gods eat the meats.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month, called Shang Yuan or "the first
769 full moon of the New Year," is the occasion for worship of all the gods
[776] and ancestors with sacrifices of meat, vegetables, incense, and paper money by each individual family.

Late in the second month or early in the third is Ch'ing Ming Chieh, "one hundred days after Tung Chieh" (the winter solstice). On this day, village families go to the cemetery to clean and sweep the graves and worship their ancestors. If a family has built a new house, married a son, or produced a baby boy during the year, they will hold a special ceremonial and offer many sacrifices at the grave site. In addition, for three years following the death of a member of the family, a special ceremonial takes place at which the female members of the family wail as they did at the funeral. Only the families which hold the special ceremonial invite guests to eat with them; this feast is held afterwards, at home.

796 The twenty-third day of the third month is the birthday of the
776 goddess Matsu, who is said to have been a very good Fukienese woman

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be consumed without simultaneously eating. The village stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

346 burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside,
353 directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are
[532] three large niches in the wall, each of which contains
[776] from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

778 The temple is open from early in the morning until
857 late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by
794 children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast,
778 they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three
[517] men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the
778 village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess
a 524 game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers.
794 Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole
794 village. Of course, there are a few people who come in
778 to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening,
[517] between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on
[134] the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

[621] The temple belongs to the entire village; each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

521 and how much was it?" No matter what the price, the constant response was, "I could get it cheaper!" (See Glossary C). There are few secrets inside the village, but the villagers united against outsiders.

• 524 Games requiring physical exertion are played by children only. There is only one organized game with rules, the tag ball played in school. Children's games are similar to what would be called "free play" in American schools. There are few toys and most of these are home made. Among adults, only men play games and these are sedentary games of skill such as a card game or chess. There will be chess games a couple of times per week but there are usually more kibitzers than participants. Mah Jong is illegal but there is a game about once or twice a month among the Mainlanders in the area.

545 Religious and life cycle events are colorful affairs which are interesting to observe. For many such events, entertainers are hired such as the crew of 15 or more required to present a Taiwan Hsi (opera) which may last eight or ten hours. Cheaperrentertainment might include a puppet show, juggler, sword dancers, etc. About once a month or so, a sales crew puts on a show which features songs, dances, and jokes to draw customers. The show 545 443 is punctuated by the entertainers passing through the audience selling medicine and since the length of the show is determined by the amount sold, some people buy in order to